1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.

[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife, but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority.
[431] If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.
[582 602] A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 582 621 [761] *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake, but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

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woman in the stress of childbirth. A traditional fine of one goat was—and presumably still is—paid by the offender to the *niewhop* of the woman's husband's clan; it is said that the offender often emigrated, presumably as a result of ritualized public ridicule.

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Burial

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According to Tremearne, death is traditionally ascribed to "the evil wishes of some person." When a death occurs, women related to the deceased gather and wail through the remainder of the day, and horns may be sounded, while people—not precisely identified by Tremearne—collect, often coming from neighbouring villages. The corpse is wrapped in a mat for interment, normally in a fresh grave: women and children remain indoors.[**] during the proceedings. A fowl or goat may be sacrificed, the spilling of blood being apparently part of the rites, and eaten by the (male?) kin. The decanter-type grave is located, according to Temple, close to the porch of the house if the deceased had children, or outside under the shelter of the wall. Seven days later, adult males (presumably of the lineage or clan) gather for three days of drinking and feasting, drumming and horn-blowing, after which men of the deceased's household shave their heads, and the widows (normally clean shaven) let their hair grow for a month and remove the *oyam* until remarriage. Between the day of burial and the final feast, the hoes used to dig the grave are left out of doors.[**]

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Under some circumstances, apparently, ancestral skulls were exhumed and preserved, but the more significant details of Kagoro practice in this connection are precisely those which are lacking in all accounts.

Temple's account of beliefs in an after-life held by Kagoro contains contradictory features which it is impossible to reconcile on the basis of available evidence. According to Temple, the Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, beyond which the spirits of the dead reside; here, primary mates are united, with their unmarried children. On the other hand, they believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be reborn in the body of a descendant, and live once more as ordinary mortals. The "ghosts" must be constantly propitiated with food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are regularly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove.

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The second account is presumably based on Tremearne. Smith, investigating some 40 years later, states that "Kagoro males say that there is no survival after death, though reincarnation sometimes occurs".[**]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

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Kagoro beliefs and practices appear to conform generally to the Katab pattern already described, though detail comparable to that supplied by Meek for Katab (or by Reynolds for Kaje, described below, pp. 115–16) are in great part lacking.

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According to Tremearne, the supreme god is called Gwaza (as among Katab proper and various other members of the Katab Group already described), "a beneficent spirit who helps them against the ghosts of their dead ancestors." Gwaza is popularly invoked at each new moon to bring health and good luck, and also, according to Temple, in time of drought, for rain. Smith, though he appears to concede a belief in a supreme god (Gwaza), implies strongly that such belief does not enter into the annual cycle of rituals.

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Regarding the spirits of the dead, Smith states flatly that "no cult of ancestor worship was developed" by Kagoro, "since Kagoro males say that there is no

[**] Cf. information on *obwai* under *Initiation*, above, and *Religious Beliefs*, below.

[**] It is not always clear whether Tremearne is describing Kagoro or Kaje practices (or both). It is to be presumed that Tremearne (as Temple) is describing the burial of an adult male.

[**] The circumstances and implications of this statement are discussed below, under *Religious Beliefs*.

and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's " capture ": friends of the husband " abduct " her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

[761] has eaten his soul.[130] Victims of witchcraft are buried in a variety of ways, determined by age, sex, marital status, kinship status, etc. A person dying of an 766 apparent disease is adjudged a witch and buried away from the compound, perhaps even in the bush, with no ceremony. A person dying from some accident, for example, one struck by lightning, is buried within the compound, as are the first category of dead described above, but without the ordinary rituals: exactly how Kaje explain this type of death is not clear from Reynolds' account.

764 The most elaborate burial ceremonies are those for the old, and little differentiation is made as to the sex of the deceased so long as he or she is survived by a numerous progeny. First, the *gado kapiyi* examines the body to determine the cause of death; then the *gado abwai* attends the body and the voice of the *abwai* is heard, whereupon the *gado abwai* " announces to the women that the old man has now become a *dodo*."[131] A vertical shaft is dug 3 or 4 ft. deep, and from this in both directions a tunnel to receive the body, head to the north, face to the west. The grave is sealed with a stone.

A feast is held directly by men of the lineage. Further celebrations with feasting and dancing are held before the next sowing, for all the dead of the lineage since the last sowing. The major lineage appears to be the unit for these celebrations.

765 At the end of the general celebrations, the patrilineal descendants of the deceased gather in his compound for five successive days for ritual feasting. After this the wives and mother of the dead man go into mourning for one month, when they cover themselves with red earth and abstain from bathing and shaving themselves. They will not let rain touch their bodies, nor will they go to the stream or cross it, even by a bridge. They eat rich food, but after dark, and take no part in the preparation of food. They do not speak to any male who does not belong to the compound and do not have sexual relations, for which reason they all sleep in one hut. They do not wear the *ndyig* (*?oyam*), but a girdle made of raphia, and always carry a hand-broom. At the end of a month the women are shaved(?), and for this occasion beer is made with corn brought by the married daughters of the classificatory daughters of the dead man at the time of the funeral ceremonies. The major lineage collects and drinks the beer and feasts ritually on beans.

766 The death of a civil head is kept secret for a month, when his successor is publicly announced. In the case of *gado kapiyi* and *aliyinkwap* bush hunting is a feature on the day of burial, and the deceased is interred in his skin loin-covering rather than in cloth garments. In the case of the *gado abwai*, the distinctive feature occurs only two or three years after burial, when an elaborate memorial service 769 (*aswa*, or, popularly, *tswandik*) is held. The rituals appear to serve as the con- 794 firmation of formal investiture of the deceased *gado's* successor, for in fixing the date of the celebration, cult affairs from the death of the late *gado* are reviewed, and the state of the public morals with which the cult concerns itself. When the date has been set, fibre neck-cords (*tswandik*) prepared by the Madauchi are distributed among the wives of the community, after grain in the fields begins to form heads. The actual ceremonies do not take place, then, until the height of the dry season,

[754] [130] The distinction observed here between a witch and a sorcerer is based on practice; the sorcerer uses " medicines " and rites; the witch may be entirely ignorant of his own supposed activities, engaging in witchcraft while asleep, in a trance, etc. Kaje appear to feel no particular animus towards witches in general, nor even towards suspected specific witches while they are alive; but note supernatural sanction against witchcraft, and the treatment of supposed witches after death.

[775] [131] It cannot be recalled too often that the concept of the " dodo " needs more careful investigation throughout this area than it has yet had. Two definitions are current among Europeans: more usually the " dodo " is regarded simply as " a spirit "; a more subtle view, perhaps, holds that it represents the collective embodiment of the community's dead. The latter definition is convincing in certain contexts, but the existence of a number of " dodone " in a single group suggests that the former may also have a degree of validity, and that the two definitions should be mediated, as it were, or new and more precise terms from the vernacular adopted.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
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841 ripening a fowl is sacrificed and its blood, together with the
775 leaves of the "Karran-Kwoi" and "tongwa," is put in a hole in the centre of the farm.

776 The spirits are subject to Gwaza, the supreme and beneficent
782 god who helps the living against evil ghosts. In drought the people pray to him for rain, facing first to the south, and then to the other points of the compass. The priests kill a fowl and place its blood, with a few of its feathers, on a stone two feet high in the sacred grove (at times some of its flesh is added), gia is then thrown three times on each corner of the stone and three incantations are spoken. Gwaza is believed to consume the offering and the petition is always granted.

776 When the new moon rises the people pray to Gwaza for health
821 and luck, and rejoice, but on this occasion no beer is drunk. They believe that the sun is a ball of fire, which falls into the water at night and becomes extinguished, but that it travels back to the east at night, at a higher level, and gets fresh fire from the supreme god. If a tree or house is set on fire by lightning the people must put out their old fires and kindle them afresh from this heavenly source.

● 761 The Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, and that when a man falls sick his soul leaves his body and journeys to this stream, where the spirits of the dead, who are assembled on the further shore, decide whether he may cross the bridge. Sometimes the decision is so long delayed that the spirit shrinks, and when it returns to the body has lost its full command. A first husband and wife will always come to the brink of the stream to greet the other, and both parents will come to welcome an unmarried child.

774 The soul leaves the body during sleep, as is proved both by dreams and by the fact that a person suddenly awakened has not full command of his faculties, which shows that the soul has not had time to return to the body. It is possible that the wandering soul may be caught and beaten, or its bowels or liver taken to a magic cave in the grove by the souls of evil men, who devour it. These evil souls glow like fire, which light is visible to the priests alone. When summoned to the injured man the priest calls out several names and the afflicted recognises
[754] that of his tormentor, who is summoned and shut into a room
[683] where a fire is burning, on which pepper is thrown, and there he is left until he promises restitution. If he fails to keep his promise he is sold as a slave, or choked.

No inanimate object has a soul, but the souls of animals may be born into the children of their slayer—it is doubtful, however, whether they can leave the living body.

798 Women and children are not allowed near the sacred groves,
688 nor may they speak of spirits under penalty of death.